

**01155**

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION EAP-88

ACTION OFFICE CH-03

INFO 2-03 TC-01 P-01 RA-01 LAB-01 UN-01 EAP-05 /028 A3 DDX  
INFO LOG-08 ADD-08 INR-07 EUR-08 SS-08 01C-02 CIAE-08  
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FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NMACT IMMEDIATE 1411

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0551

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

FMENBASSY BANGKOK 0422Z

AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

AIT TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL SHANGHAI IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL SHENYANG IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CHENGDU (POUCH)

FILE

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SQUARE FROM THE WEST.

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4. THE PLA DID NOT FIRE DIRECTLY ON STUDENTS GATHERED AROUND THE MARTYRS MONUMENT ON TIANANMEN SQUARE. TROOPS BEAT, AND PROBABLY KILLED SOME STUDENTS AFTER THEY EXITED THE SQUARE, HOWEVER. OTHER STUDENTS WHO FACED OFF TROOPS IN THE STREETS AROUND THE SQUARE WERE SHOT. MANY MEMBERS OF THE CROWDS ATTEMPTING TO SLOW THE PLA ADVANCE THREW BRICKS AND STONES AT SOLDIERS AND BEAT AND/OR KILLED A NUMBER OF THEM. BUT GIVEN THE PREPONDERANCE OF FORCE ON THE MILITARY SIDE, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT MILITARY CASUALTIES EXCEEDED THOSE ON THE CIVILIAN SIDE. CIVILIAN DEATHS PROBABLY DID NOT REACH THE FIGURE OF 3,000 USED IN SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS, BUT THEY SURELY FAR OUTNUMBERED OFFICIAL FIGURES.

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5. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT WHATEVER THE CASUALTY FIGURES, WHATEVER THE OCCUPATION OF THE CIVILIANS WHO WERE KILLED, AND WHATEVER VIOLENT SOME MEMBERS OF THE CROWD MAY HAVE BECOME, THE ORDER TO MOVE HEAVILY ARMED TROOPS ON TIANANMEN WAS CYNICAL AND INHUMANE.

[REDACTED]

END INTRODUCTION.

6. (C) PRECIS OF EVENTS: THE MAIN MILITARY THRUST THAT NIGHT CAME FROM THE WEST. LARGE CROWDS ENGAGED IN PITCHED BATTLES WITH ARMED TROOPS AND ARMORED COLUMNS AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS ALONG FUXING AND CHANGAN AVENUES. THESE CLASHES LED TO HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AS TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT BEIJING CITIZENS.

7. (C) SOLDIERS IN AN ARMORED COLUMN OF TANKS AND APC'S THAT ENTERED TIANANMEN FROM THE EAST AFTER (08) JUNE 4 ALSO FIRED INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS ALONG THE ROUTE.

8. BATTLES BETWEEN TROOPS AND CITIZENS ALSO APPARENTLY TOOK PLACE SOUTH OF TIANANMEN SQUARE, PROBABLY AT THE QIANGWENMEN INTERSECTIONS AND ALONG QIANGMEN AVENUE. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD OF HEAVY FIGHTING IN THE DAZHALAM DISTRICT, JUST SOUTH OF QIANGMEN. WE HAVE NO WESTERN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE EVENTS AT CHONGWENMEN, QIANGMEN AVENUE, AND DAZHALAM, HOWEVER.

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9. (C) CASUALTIES ALSO OCCURRED IN THE TIANANMEN AREA AFTER TROOPS AND ARMOR ARRIVED AT THE NORTH END OF THE SQUARE SOMETIME BETWEEN 0133 AND 0200, JUNE 4. HERE, CROWDS ON CHANGAN AVENUE ON THE NORTHEAST SIDE OF THE SQUARE FACED OFF TROOPS WHO HAD ENTERED FROM THE NORTHEAST. TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT THIS CROWD THROUGHOUT THE MORNING BETWEEN TIANANMEN SQUARE AND THE BEIJING HOTEL.

/

10. (C) THE BATTLES RAGED AROUND THE SQUARE RATHER THAN ON IT. WITNESSES PRESENT AT THE MARTYRS MONUMENT DESCRIBE AN EERIE LACK OF ACTION ON THE SQUARE PROPER DURING THE SHOOTING IN THE STREETS. WE HAVE HEARD NO ACCOUNTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING DIRECTLY AT STUDENTS CROWDED AROUND THE MARTYRS MONUMENT ON THE SQUARE. EYEWITNESSES ALSO STATE THAT, AS FAR AS THEY COULD TELL, NO STUDENTS WERE PRESENT IN THE TENTS.

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WHICH APC'S ROLLED OVER AS THEY ENTERED THE SQUARE  
PROPER BEFORE SUNRISE ON JUNE 4. THE SEVERAL  
THOUSAND STUDENTS WHO REMAINED AT THE MONUMENT  
DEPARTED THE SQUARE VIA THE SOUTHEAST CORNER  
BEGINNING AT ABOUT 0500, JUNE 4.

/  
10. (C) EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE  
STUDENTS ONCE THEY LEFT ARE FEW. WESTERN JOURNALISTS  
WHO WERE PRESENT OR WHO HEARD FROM EYEWITNESSES AGREE  
THAT STUDENTS DEPARTED VIA THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF  
THE SQUARE ONTO CHIANGAN AVENUE. THEY THERE SPLIT  
INTO GROUPS, SOME OF WHICH TRAVELED EAST, SOME WEST.  
/

11. (C) JOURNALISTS PRESENT ON THE SQUARE AT THIS  
TIME STATE THAT POLICE OR PLA TROOPS IN RIOT GEAR  
BEAT SOME OF THE DEPARTING STUDENTS. AN EYEWITNESS  
TOLD AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST THAT TANKS MOVING WEST ON  
CHIANGAN AVENUE RAN OVER AND KILLED ABOUT TEN STUDENTS  
WHO MARCHED WEST FROM THE SQUARE AND THEN NORTH TO  
THE VICINITY OF THE BEIJING CONCERT HALL. THE  
EYEWITNESS TOLD THE JOURNALIST THAT SOLDIERS SHOT AND  
KILLED AT LEAST ONE OF THE STUDENTS ACCOMPANYING  
THOSE WHO WERE RUN OVER BY THE TANKS.  
/

12. (C) CASUALTIES: WE MAY NEVER KNOW PRECISELY HOW  
MANY TROOPS AND CIVILIANS DIED OR WERE INJURED ON THE  
NIGHT OF JUNE 3/4 AND IN FOLLOWING DAYS. THE TRUE  
FIGURE IS PROBABLY OVER ONE THOUSAND; NOT OVER ONE  
HUNDRED, AS CHINESE OFFICIALS CLAIM. SOON AFTER THE  
ASSAULT, THE KYODO NEWS SERVICE REPORTED THAT THE  
CHINESE RED CROSS GAVE A FIGURE OF 2,600 MILITARY AND  
CIVILIANS DEATHS WITH 7,000 ON BOTH SIDES WOUNDED,  
BASED ON A CANVASS OF BEIJING HOSPITALS. (NOTE:  
THESE DEATHS WERE RECORDED IN HOSPITALS AND  
REPORTEDLY DO NOT INCLUDE DEATHS ON THE STREET. END  
NOTE.) BEIJING BASED JAPANESE DIPLOMATS FIND THE  
KYODO SOURCE CREDIBLE AND THE ESTIMATE CONVINCING.  
/

OUR DAO BELIEVES THAT THIS IS NOT AN UNREASONABLE  
ESTIMATE, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICT AND THE  
WEAPONS USED BY THE PLA.  
/

13. (C) OFFICIAL CASUALTY STATISTICS DIFFER MARKEDLY  
FROM THIS, BUT THEY ARE CONTRADICTORY. AT A JUNE 7  
PRESS CONFERENCE, STATE COUNCIL SPOKESMAN YUAN MU  
STATED THAT TOTAL DEATHS OF TROOPS AND CIVILIANS  
NUMBERED "AROUND 300 PEOPLE." ACCORDING TO YUAN,  
"OVER 3,000 TROOPS" SUFFERED INJURIES, WITH "OVER  
2,000" CIVILIANS INJURED. HOWEVER, A JUNE 14 XINHUA  
RELEASE REPORTED THAT "NEARLY 100 SOLDIERS AND  
POLICEMEN (WERE) AND THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS AND  
POLICEMEN WERE WOUNDED." "SOME 100 CIVILIANS WERE  
KILLED AND NEARLY 1,000 WERE INJURED," ACCORDING TO  
XINHUA.  
/

14. BEIJING HOSPITALS HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO DISCUSS  
CASUALTY FIGURES. ENBOFFS VISITING THREE HOSPITALS  
ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 4 WITNESSED OR WERE TOLD OF  
A TOTAL OF 88 CIVILIAN DEAD AT THESE THREE HOSPITALS  
ALONE. AMONG THE DEAD WERE WOMEN AND AT LEAST ONE  
CHILD. A WESTERN JOURNALIST WHO VISITED SEVEN  
HOSPITALS BETWEEN JUNE 4 AND JUNE 7, INCLUDING THOSE  
VISITED BY ENBOFFS, WAS TOLD OF 156 CIVILIAN DEATHS  
AT THESE HOSPITALS. THESE FIGURES ARE NECESSARILY  
LOW, GIVEN OUR INABILITY TO VISIT HOSPITALS  
SYSTEMATICALLY.  
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15. (C) STUDENT DEATHS: AT HIS JUNE 7 PRESS

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CONFERENCE, YUAN MU CLAIMED THAT AS OF THAT DAY, ONLY  
23 BEIJING STUDENTS HAD DIED AS A RESULT OF THE  
MILITARY MOVEMENT IN THE CITY'S CENTER. HE SAID THAT  
THIS FIGURE RESULTED FROM INVESTIGATIONS AT LOCAL  
UNIVERSITIES. WESTERN JOURNALISTS WHO HAVE VISITED  
MAJOR BEIJING CAMPUSES HAVE FOUND THAT STUDENT  
SOURCES CAN CONFIRM BY NAME THE DEATHS OF ONLY 3-18  
STUDENTS AT EACH OF SEVERAL MAJOR UNIVERSITIES, BUT A  
WESTERN Academic WAS TOLD BY PROFESSORS THAT A LARGER  
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ARE STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR (E.G.,  
17 EACH AT BEIJING AND JINGYI UNIVERSITIES). THE  
WHITE COUNCIL HAS RELEASED NO FIGURES ON THE DEATHS  
OF STUDENTS WHO FROM UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE THE  
CAPITAL. THE NON-BEIJING STUDENTS FORMED THE  
MAJORITY OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS IN THE SQUARE  
ITSELF BY JUNE 3.  
/

16. (U) BELOW IS A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS OF THE  
NIGHT OF JUNE 3/4. BEGIN CHRONOLOGY:

/ JUNE 3

1500 LARGE CROWDS OF BEIJING CITIZENS AROUND  
- TIANNEN SQUARE; SEVERAL THOUSAND UNARMED  
- PLA TROOPS KEMMED IN BY CROWDS AT WEST GATE  
- OF GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE (GHP)  
/ 1500 VIOLENCE FLARES AT XINHUANEN (OUTH  
- ENTRANCE TO ZHONGGUANWAI) AS TROOPS GUARDING  
- GATE FIRE INTO AIR AND BEAT SOME  
- DEMONSTRATORS WITH BELTS  
/ 1600 PLA TROOPS FIRE ON CROWD SURROUNDING TROOP  
- TRUCKS AT MUXIDI, NEAR FUXINGMEN; NUMBER  
- OF CASUALTIES UNKNOWN  
/ 2000 CROWDS ENCIRCLE CONVOY OF 20-30 TRUCKS

- BEARING ARMED TROOPS AT JIANGGUAN AND  
- AND THIRD RING ROAD, THIS SCENE REPEATED  
- ON MAJOR INTERSECTIONS SURROUNDING CITY  
/ 2030 TROOPS AT WEST GATE OF GHP RETREAT INSIDE

2200 TROOPS ON TRUCKS AT YANJING HOTEL, BETWEEN  
- MUXIDI AND FUXINGMEN, FIRE ON CROWDS IN  
- STREET, CASUALTIES UNKNOWN  
/ 2300 ARMED PLA TROOPS IN TRUCKS SURROUNDED BY  
- CROWDS IN FRONT OF BEIJING HOTEL  
/ JUNE 4

0000 BUS BLOCKADE AT FUXINGMEN BURNS, PLA FIRES  
- ON CROWD, COLUMN OF APC'S APPROACHES  
- FUXINGMEN, AT LEAST 30 CASUALTIES REPORTED  
- REPORTED AT THIS SITE  
/

- POLICE OR TROOPS IN RIOT GEAR WITH SHIELDS  
- ENGAGE IN PITCHED BATTLE WITH CROWD OF OVER  
- 10,000 PEOPLE IN FRONT OF MUXIDI HOTEL;  
- CROWD COMPOSED OF PEOPLE OF ALL AGES AND  
- SEXES; THEY JEER AT RIOT POLICE, SOME  
- THROW BRICKS AND STONES, RIOT POLICE  
- RESPOND WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE ABOVE CROWD  
- AND TEAR GAS

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/ 0500- STUDENTS BEGIN TO LEAVE MONUMENT FOR SOUTHEAST END OF SQUARE AND EXIT FROM THERE ONTO CHIANNEN AVENUE; SOME MOVE EAST, OTHERS WEST

/ 0500 TANKS ENTER TIANANMEN SQUARE FROM SOUTH

/ 0510 "GODDESS OF LIBERTY" STATUE IS DOWN

/ 0545 : ARMORED COLUMN OF 8 TANKS, 25 APC'S, AND MANY TROOP TRUCKS ENTERS TIANANMEN FROM THE EAST; ELEMENTS OF THIS COLUMN FIRE HEAVILY AND INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS GATHERED ALONG CHANGAN AVENUE

/ 0600 LAST STUDENTS DEPART SQUARE, SOME BEATEN BY TROOPS IN RIOT GEAR

/ 0620 ANOTHER ARMORED COLUMN ENTERS TIANANMEN FROM THE EAST; ITS TROOPS ALSO FIRE INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS

/ 0650 APPROXIMATELY 35 TANKS ENTER SQUARE

/ 1025- FOUR SEPARATE INCIDENTS OF INDISCRIMINATE FIRE ON CROWDS IN FRONT OF BEIJING HOTEL;  
1210 AT LEAST 50 CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

/ END CHRONOLOGY.

17. NOTE: SPORADIC KILLING CONTINUED AT LEAST THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6. WE HAVE READ NUMEROUS FIRST AND SECOND-HAND REPORTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING ON GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND OTHER CITIZENS WHO EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO THE CRACKDOWN. LILLEY

NOTE: (xx) OMISSION PARA. 7 AND 13, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

8430

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8438 SEVERAL THOUSAND ARMED PLA TROOPS APPEAR ON EAST STEPS OF GHOP, THEIR BAYONETS FIXED; PLA OR PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE UNITS ALSO APPEAR ON STEPS OF HISTORY MUSEUM ARMED WITH TRUNCHEONS

/

- LIGHTS OUT ON TIANANMEN SQUARE

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8438- APC'S THAT ENTERED FROM THE WEST NOW LINE UP AT THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE FACING SOUTH; THEY BEGIN TO MOVE INTO THE SQUARE PROPER, ROLLING OVER STUDENT TENTS

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- SOUND OF HEAVY FIRE REPORTED FROM SOUTHEAST OF SQUARE; COULD HAVE COME FROM CHONGWEIEN AREA, WHERE HEAVY FIGHTING AND MANY CASUALTIES WERE LATER REPORTED

/

8420 LIGHTS ON IN SQUARE

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8438 TROOPS OR POLICE IN RIOT GEAR APPEAR WITHIN GROUNDS OF MAO MAUSOLEUM, SOUTH OF MONUMENT